

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 TRSE-00 IO-13 DHA-02 CU-02 EB-08 /083 W
-----111533Z 024084 /41

R 111310Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 211
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BELGRADE 2206

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, PINR, YO
SUBJECT: INTERNAL ROUNDUP

1. SUMMARY: THIS TELEGRAM IS OUR LATEST POTPOURRI ON
THE YUGOSLAV LEADERSHIP, INTERNAL POLITICS AND POLITICAL
SYSTEM. THREE YUGOSLAVS RECENTLY MADE UNUSUAL DISPARAGING
COMMENTS ABOUT TITO. --DOLANC IS VULNERABLE TO CRITICISM
AS A CENTRALIST. BOSNIAN LEADERS ARE UNDER ATTACK OVER
HUMAN RIGHTS. --THE ELECTION LAW WILL BE MODIFIED BEFORE
THE NEXT NATIONAL ELECTION, AND NEW PARTY STATUTES ARE LIKELY
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TO PERMIT PARTY OFFICIALS TO HOLD STATE POSITIONS AS WELL.
PURGED LEADERS MAY BE REHABILITATED. END SUMMARY.

2. ATTITUDES TOWARD TITO. CONVENTIONAL WISDOM HOLDS THAT
TITO IS WIDELY RESPECTED, BY COMMUNISTS AND NON-COMMUNISTS
ALIKE. AN AMERICAN STUDYING HERE, FOR EXAMPLE, RECENTLY
TOLD EMBOFF OF THE GENUINE ESTEEM YUGOSLAV STUDENTS FEEL

FOR THEIR PRESIDENT. AS A RESULT, THE FOLLOWING SPARATE COMMENTS TO EMBOFFS ARE SURPRISING. A YOUNG COMMUNIST LAWYER CRITICIZED TITO FOR "MAKING THEATER AROUND HIMSELF" AND FOR "SAYING ABSURDITIES". A CORRESPONDENT FOR THE MAJOR SLOVENIAN NEWSPAPER, PRESUMABLY ALSO A COMMUNIST, CALLED TITO A PUPPET WHO CAN JUST MANAGE TO KEEP HIS BODY FUNCTIONING AND IS MANIPULATED BY HIS AIDES, INCLUDING HIS WIFE JOVANKA WHO IS A CHARGE OF NURSING HIM. ADDITIONALLY A NOTED NON-COMMUNIST INTELLECTUAL, RECENTLY COMPLAINING THAT HE IS FREE TO WRITE ONLY "TWENTY PERCENT" OF WHAT HE THINKS, ASKED RHETORICALLY, "CAN I EVER WRITE THAT TITO IS UNNECESSARY?" IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SAY HOW WIDELY HELD ARE SUCH SENTIMENTS, BUT THEY SEEM LIKELY TO INCREASE AS TITO AGES.

3. DOLANC VS. REPUBLICAN LEADERS. THE HUNGARIAN COUNSELOR BELIEVES THERE IS SUBSTANTIAL OPPOSITION TO LEAGUE OF COMMUNISTS (LC) EXECUTIVE SECRETARY STANE DOLANC. HUNGARIAN THINKS THE OLDER GENERATION AND MANY OTHERS WANT A DECENTRALIZED, REPUBLICAN-BASED COMMUNIST PARTY. THEY SEE THIS AS THEIR MOST SECURE FOUNDATION AFTER TITO. DOLANC, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS LED THE RECENTRALIZATION OF THE PARTY IN THE LAST FIVE YEARS, AND MUST SURELY OPPOSE ANY REVERSAL. (COMMENT: IN A FEBRUARY TALK TO SLOVENIAN COMMUNISTS DOLANC ARGUED AGAINST "MAKING DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM VALID ONLY AS FAR AS REPUBLICAN BORDERS." THIS SUGGESTS THAT CENTRAL CONTROL IS ONCE AGAIN AN ISSUE, WITH THE SLOVENIAN PARTY AND DOLANC PERHAPS ON OPPOSITE SIDES.) HUNGARIAN THOUGHT TITO MIGHT SUPPORT DECENTRALI-
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ZATION IN ORDER TO OBTAIN CONSENSUS, THE ONLY OTHER ALTERNATIVE BEING RELIANCE ON THE POLICE AND MILITARY TO COMPEL OBEDIENCE.

4. HUMAN RIGHTS AND DOMESTIC POLITICS. YUGOSLAV LEADERS HAVE REJECTED THE WESTERN CALL FOR GREATER HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT DIFFERENCES OF APPROACH ARE APPARENT BETWEEN THE PUBLIC STATEMENTS OF DOLANC AND BOSNIAN LC PRESIDENT BRANKO MIKULIC. DOLANC HAS SAID THAT YUGOSLAV DISSIDENTS ARE INSIGNIFICANT AND CAN BE IGNORED AND HAS CALLED FOR STRENGTHENING "SELF-MANAGEMENT FREEDOMS." MIKULIC, HOWEVER, HAS CHARGED THAT GREATER FREEDOM IN YUGOSLAVIA WOULD MEAN FREEDOM FOR "NATIONAIST-CHUVINISTS, DOGMATISTS" AND OTHER DANGEROUS ELEMENTS. IN A WIDELY PUBLICIZED INTERVIEW HE SAID THAT THE INTERESTS OF "GENUINE FREEDOM" DEMAND CONTINUATION OF PRESENT POLICIES. IN DOING SO MIKULIC WAS IN PART DEFENDING THE BOSNIAN RECORD FROM CRITICISM BY OTHER YUGOSLAVS. MIKULIC SAID, "IT SEEMS TO ME THAT IN YUGOSLAVIA...THERE STILL EXIST INDIVIDUALS AND

GROUPS WHO ARE POLITICALLY

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USIA-06 TRSE-00 IO-13 DHA-02 CU-02 EB-08 /083 W

-----111526Z 024227 /40

R 111310Z APR 77

FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 212

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 BELGRADE 2206

KEEPING AN EYE ON EVERYTHING THAT IS TAKING PLACE IN
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA AND WHO APPARENTLY STILL THINK
THAT THEY HAVE THE RIGHT TO BEHAVE AS PATRONS TOWARD
US". HE WENT ON TO DEFEND THE RECENT BANNING IN THE
BOSNIAN TOWN OF BANJA LUKA OF A SHORT STORY WHICH HAD
WON A PRIZE IN BELGRADE IN 1974 WHEN IT WAS FIRST PUBLISHED.
ONE WESTERN JOURNALIST FINDS THAT LCY INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS SECRETARY GRICKOV, WHO HAS BEEN THE SOURCE
FOR SEVERAL STORIES ABOUT LIBERALIZING TRENDS, HAS BEEN
INCREASINGLY VAGUE ABOUT WHAT WILL BE LIBERALIZED. OPPOSITION
OF HARD LINERS LIKE MIKULIC MAY HAVE FORCED MODIFICATION
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OF INITIAL PROPOSALS.

5. POLITICA AMNESTY. BOSNIAN LEADERSHIP IS REPORTEDLY ALSO BEING CRITICIZED FOR DRAGGING ITS FEET ON AN AMNESTY FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS. GRICKOV TOLD WESTERN CORRESPONDENT "OFF THE RECORD" THAT STATE PRESIDENCY DECIDED ON AN AMNESTY IN OCT 1976. ACCORDING TO GRICKOV, DELAY IN GRANTING AMNESTY IS DUE TO NEED FOR ACH REPUBLIC TO REVIEW ITS CASES SO THAT UNIFORM STANDARDS WILL BE APPLIED. CURSING A NATIONAL LEADER, FOR EXAMPLE, WILL NO LONGER BE TREATED AS AN OFFENSE. SOME POLITICL PRISONERS WILL BE FREED AND OTHERS WILL HAVE THEIR SENTENCES REDUCED, GRICKOV SAID. SOME FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS HERE BELIEVE BOSNIANS HAVE BEEN SLOW TO COMPLETE THE REVIEW GRICKOV MENTIONED.

6. REHABILITATION OF PURGED LEADERS? IN ADDITION TO AMNESTY, A WESTER CORRESPONDENT HAS HEARD A RUMOR THAT LIBERALS LIKE MARKO NIKEZIC AND PURGED LEADERS OF OTHER STRIPES WILL BE REHABILITATED IN MAY IN CONNECTION WITH TITO'S EIGHTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY AND FORTIETH YEAR AT THE HEAD OF THE PARTY. JOURNALIST UNDERSTANDS THE APPROACH WILL BE THAN ANYONE WHO NOW SUPPORTS THE PARTY LINE, REGARDLESS OF PAST SINS, CAN CONTRIBUTE TO SOCIETY. (COMMENT: IN INTERVIEW MENTIONED ABOVE GRICKOV SAID THE PRESIDENCY WASNTS TO ENCOURAGE DIALOGUE THROUGH THE SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (SAWPY) WITH ALL, INCLUDING CHRISTIANS, WHO FAVOR SOCIALISM. EXTENDING DIALOGUE TO THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN PURGED, OR EVEN LETTING THEM REJOIN THE LC WOULD BE LOGICAL, BUT EMBASSY DOUBTS THAT THEY WOULD BE RESTORED TO POSITIONS OF INFLUENCE.)

7. ELECTION LAW TO BE MODIFIED. IN PREPARATIONS FOR NATIONAL ELECTIONS NEXT YEAR, THE ELECTION LAW WILL BE MODIFIED, ACCORDING TO PRESS AND STAFFER OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. CONFIDENTIAL

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SPECIFIC CHANGES IN QUESTION HAVE NOT BEEN REVEALED. REFORMS MIGHT INVOLVE A "REPLACEABLE DELEGATE" SYSTEM, ALREADY BEING TRIED IN SLOVENIA, WHEREBY A GIVEN CONSTITUENCY IS REPRESENTED NOT BY A SINGLE DELEGATE BUT BY WHICHEVER INDIVIDUAL IS BEST QUALIFIED TO DISCUSS THE PARTICULAR SUBJECT AT HAND. CHANGES MIGHT ALSO BE DIRECTED AT TWO PROBLEMS WITH THE DELEGATE SYSTEM FREQUENTLY MENTIONED IN THE PRESS --- LACK OF CONTACT BETWEEN DELEGATES AND THEIR CONSTITUENCY AND INADEQUATE INFORMATION PROVIDED FOR THE DELEGATES. REFORM IS NOT LIKELY TO

INVOLVE "PROFESSIONALIZATION" OF THE DELEGATES. A LOCAL PARTY OFFICIAL FROM RIJEKA WAS RECENTLY CASTIGATED IN A "BORBA" EDITORIAL FOR SUGGESTING THAT DELEGATES BE MADE FULL-TIME TO PERMIT THEM TO DEVELOP EXPERTISE.

8. NOMINATION PROCESS. GRICKOV TELLS WESTERN REPORTERS THAT YUGOSLAVIA IS LIBERALIZING. MAJOR TEST OF THIS WILL BE WHETHER ELECTORAL REFORM OPENS UP CONTROLLED PROCESS BY WHICH CANDIDATES ARE SELECTED. IN A RECENT DISCUSSION OF 1974 ELECTIONS WITH EMBOFFS, TWO YUGOSLAVA POLITICAL SCIENCE PROFESSORS EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION BECAUSE ELECTIONS HAD BEEN PRECEDED BY COMPLICATED PROCESS OF CONSULTATION IN WHICH THE CANDIDATES WERE SELECTED AND ALL THOSE NOMINATED WERE THEN ELECTED. FORMER YUGOSLA FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICER NOW WORKING IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY GAVE EMBOFFS SOME IDEA HOW SELECTION PROCESS WORKS. HE SAID EACH POLITICAL LEVER PREPARES A LIST OF VACANCIES -- JOBS WHICH THE INCUMBENTS WILL NOT CONTINUE TO OCCUPY. THE SOCIALIST ALLIANCE (SAWPY) THEN ARRANGES TO FILL THEM, KEEPING IN MIND THE SYSTEM OF NATIONAL AND REGIONAL QUOTAS. FIVE REGIONS WITHIN CROATIA, FOR EXAMPLE, MUST EACH BE GIVEN ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION AT ALL LEVELS, SOURCE SAID. AT THE LEVEL OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (CABINET) HE SAID THAT THE PRESIDENT (OR PRIME MINISTER), ASKS THE APPROPRIATE REPUBLIC FOR NOMINEES DEPENDING ON WHICH REPUBLIC IS DUE

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TO FILL A PARTICULAR SLOT. THE PRESIDENT CAN VETO

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USIA-06 TRSE-00 IO-13 DHA-02 CU-02 EB-08 (ISO) W
-----111617Z 025116 /40

R 111310Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 213

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AMEMBASSY BERLIN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 BELGRADE 2206

A REPUBLIC'S NOMINEE BUT DOES NOT HAVE A FREE HAND TO CHOOSE WHOMEVER HE DESIRES FROM THE APPROPRIATE REPUBLIC. A SIMILAR PROCESS IS FOLLOWED FOR THE SENIOR DEPUTIES IN EACH SECRETARIAT, THE SOURCE SAID.

9. GENERAL JOVANIC. A WESTERN REPORTER WHO SAW A TELEVISION REPORT ON THE RECENT CONFERENCE OF COMMUNIST PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN THE YUGOSLAV PEOPLE'S ARMY SAID THAT THE FILM REPORT STARTED BY SHOWING OUSTED COL. GEN. DJOKO JOVANIC SITTING IN THE AUDIENCE IN CIVILIAN CLOTHES. JOURNALIST SPECULATED THAT THIS WAS DONE TO REASSURE PUBLIC HE IS ALIVE AND WELL IN VIEW OF HIS ABRUPT CONFIDENTIAL

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DISAPPEARANCE FROM THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP.

10 PARTY OFFICIALS WILL BE ABLE TO HOLD STATE OFFICE. IN INTERVIEW PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED, ALEXANDER GRILICKOV SAID THAT THE PROHIBITION ON PARTY FUNCTIONARIES HOLDING STATE OFFICES WILL BE ELIMINATED. THIS RULE IS CONTAINED IN THE PARTY STATUTES, WHICH WILL BE MODIFIED AT THE ELEVENTH CONGRESS NEXT YEAR. THIS CHANGE WOULD BE NECESSARY TO PERMIT FORMATION OF A "POLITBURO" COMPOSED OF BOTH PARTY AND STATE OFFICIALS, BUT FORMALLY A GOVERNMENT ORGAN. IT WILL OPEN THE WAY FOR ONE MAN TO SERVE, FOR EXAMPLE, AS BOTH FOREIGN SECRETARY AND LC INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECRETARY, AND, IS LIKELY TO ENHANCE THE POWER OF LC EXECUTIVE COMMITTEES AT ALL LEVELS.

11. ROTATION FOR DOLANC? GRILICKOV ALSO TOLD INTERVIEWER THAT PRINCIPLE OF ROTATION IN OFFICE, WHILE BASICALLY GOOD, COULD BE CARRIED TO EXTREMES. HE THUS GIVES A DIFFERENT SLANT ON ROTATION ISSUE THAN THE BOSNIAN LEADERSHIP. THE PRESIDUM OF THE BOSNIAN LC CONCLUDED IN FEBRUARY THAT NEW AND YOUNGER

PEOPLE SHOULD BE CHOSEN FOR THE HIGHEST FUNCTIONS AT BOTH REPUBLIC AND FEDERAL LEVELS. CONSTITUTION AND LC STATUTES BASICALLY CALL FOR NOW MORE THAN TWO TERMS IN ANY ONE SENIOR POLITICAL OFFICE. APPLICATION OF ROTATION PRINCIPLE IS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST IN THE CASE OF STANE DOLANC, WHO WAS ELECTED SECRETARY OF THE LC EXECUTIVE BUREAU IN 1972, RE-ELECTED IN 1973 AND ELECTED SECRETARY OF THE RENAMED EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IN 1974. STAFFER OF NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TOLD EMBOFFS CHOICE OF DOLANC'S NEXT POSITION IS A "PROBLEM", BUT THAT IT WILL CERTAINLY BE AN IMPORTANT POST, PERHAPS THE PRESIDENCY OF SLOVENIA. GRICKOV MAY BE SUPPORTING A BID BY DOLANC, WITH WHOM HE SEEMS TO ENJOY GOOD RAPPORT, FOR ANOTHER TERM AS EXECUTIVE SECRETARY WITH THE BOSNIANS IN OPPOSITION. PARTY STATUTES WILL BE MODIFIED AT ELEVENTH CONGRESS, AND RULES ON ROTATION COULD BE RELAXED TO ACCOMMODATE DOLANC ALTHOUGH HE TECHNICALLY HAS ONLY BEEN ELECTED ONCE AS CONFIDENTIAL

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SECRETARY OF THE EXECUTIVE "COMMITTEE" AND COULD BE RE-ELECTED UNDER PRESENT STATUTES. GRICKOV HIMSELF TOLD BRITISH THAT HE PERSONALLY WILL LEAVE HIS PRESENT OFFICE IN THE RESHUFFLE NEXT YEAR.

12. FEW LEADERS WORTH ATTENTION. OUTSPOKEN SLOVENIAN JOURNALIST TOLD POL COUNS THAT ONLY SIX LEADERS ARE WORTH ATTENTION--EVERY ONE ELSE COPIES THEM HE NAMED TIOY LCOPWNC, KARDELJ, BAKARIC, LJUBICIC AND JOVANKA, AND THEN ADDED MINIC AND STAMBOLIC.

13. SPILJAK AND DAPCEVIC. WHILE NOT ON THE JOURNALIST'S SHORT LIST OF NOTEWORTHY LEADERS, NEWS OF LABOR UNION PRESIDENT MIKA SPILJAK AND ASSEMBLY VICE PRESIDENT PEKO DAPCEVIC MAY BE OF INTEREST. IN CONTRAST TO POSITIVE IMPRESSION SPILJAK HAS MADE ON AMERICAN AND BRITISH AMBASSADORS, CONGEN ZAGREB REPORTS HE IS THE BUTT OF JOKES THERE ABOUT HIS LACK OF EDUCATION AND INTELLIGENCE. SUCH TALES MIGHT HAVE THEIR ORIGINS AMONG HIS POLITICAL ENEMIES. DAPCEVIC IS PLANNING TO RETIRE AND DEVOTE HIMSELF TO WRITING, ACCORDING TO A YUGOSLAV WHO WORKS CLOSELY WITH HIM.

14. CAREER VS. NO CAREER DIPLOMATS. THIS DISPUTE EXISTS EVEN BEYOND THE U.S. FOREIGN SERVICE. IN A MEETING WITH CHARGE, FSFA NORTH AMERICAN DESK DIRECTOR STARCEVIC RAISED THE THEN IMPENDING SILBERMAN ARTICLE, WHICH HE BELIEVED WOULD CONTAIN CONSIDERABLE CRITICISM OF CAREER FSO'S. STARCEVIC SAID THAT FOR THE MOST PART THE CAREERISTS HE HAS MET HAVE BEEN BETTER PREPARED THAN THOSE WHO HAVE ENTERED DIPLOMATIC SERVICE FROM ANOTHER PROFESSION. SURPRISINGLY, HE THEN WENT ON TO CRITICIZE FORMER YUGOSLAV ASSISTANT FONSEC NOVAK PRIVICEVIC, RECENTLY NAMED AS

AMBASSADOR TO AUSTRIA. LATTER HAD WRITTEN ARTICLE
FOR WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE NIN WHICH SUGGESTED CHANGES IN
YUGOSLAVIA'S DIPLOMATIC SERVICE AND WAS CRITICAL OF SOME
CURRENT PRACTICES AND SEVERAL OLD LINE YUGOSLAV DIPLOMATS.
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STARCEVIC REFERRED TO PRIBICEVIC AS AN UPSTART AND SAID
THAT MOST YUGOSLAV DIPLOMATS ARE VERY UNHAPPY WITH HIM
AND HIS RECENT APPOINTMENT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, POLITICAL SITUATION, COMMUNIST DOCTRINE
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 11-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977BELGRA02206
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770125-0594
Format: TEL
From: BELGRADE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770470/aaaaciwz.tel
Line Count: 400
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 47cc2fa7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
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Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2847211
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Status: NATIVE
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To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/47cc2fa7-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009